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ABSTRACT

This study is a causal-comparative analysis of three states which have different forms of teacher education governance. The purpose of the study was to identify promising variables that appeared to impact on the formation of a teacher standards and practices commission in each state and the implementation of a commission in the two states where a new form of teacher education governance was adopted. Variables that were found to be important were then stated and hypotheses for testing in future studies were formulated. (Author/MB)

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TEACHER EDUCATION GOVERNANCE AT THE STATE LEVEL:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

A Paper Prepared for the 1977 Annual Conference of the

American Educational Research Association

Nancy Lusk Zimpher

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The Problem Area

There exists a strong tradition of state control of education. In fact, the Founding Fathers rejected the idea of a national system of education, leaving to the states the responsibility for providing educational opportunity for the people. As a consequence, early local lay boards of education were delegated authority by state legislatures for the establishment of standards for public education and for the preparation of personnel who staff elementary and secondary schools.

Although the certification of teachers was historically handled by local boards of education, after the movement of teacher training into the state university system, this responsibility shifted to a centralized system of control by state boards of education and their education agencies. By 1965, the authority to determine regulations for teacher certification and to issue, re-issue and revoke certificates was almost completely vested by legislative authority in the respective state boards and state departments of education.[1] State boards of education and their education agencies still are largely in control of education at the state level. Therefore, they are definitely the targets of any attempt to change the educational power structure by other constituents of the profession.

There are several arguments which have been advanced for removing control of the teaching profession from the state board and its education agency. One position taken in this governance struggle is that of the National Education Association (NEA) and its state affiliates, who claim:

> The teaching profession must acquire the rights and responsibilities for governing its own standards for admission and retention in teaching. Governance... self-regulation...autonomy for the teaching profession...by whatever name, the meaning is the same:

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[1] John P. Mayor, Accreditation in Teacher Education (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Accrediting, 1965), p. 35.

the fixing of responsibility for professional decisions with the teaching profession.[2]

A second argument against state agency control of the teaching profession was first posited by Conant, Koerner and other public critics of teacher education in the mid-sixties. The basis for their argument is that the "educational establishment" has, according to Koerner, managed over the years a dangerous degree of control over education and has, in fact, disenfranchised not only classroom teachers but academic scholars and the body politic.[3] Both Koerner and Conant favored restructuring the political apparatus through which school personnel are prepared and licensed.

A third argument against state agency control is posed by critics of the education enterprise who seek community control over education. The Study Commission on Undergraduate Education states that there has been an "erosion of local cultural authority over education, of local community responsibility and will"[4] in licensing and related processes for accrediting institutions. The commission further claims that the state licensing system does not effectively protect the public from bad teachers or teachers who are ill-prepared to relate to the customs and designs of particular communities. The commission argues that what begins as consumer protection turns into a means for limiting entry to the profession of teaching, a demonstration of professional vested interest rather than public interest.[5] Lierheimer concurs with this assessment and recommends a solution not unlike that of the study commission; that is, to create a new certification authority that would return control to the local districts in developing their own set of teacher standards.[6] What would follow, then, are new participatory patterns unlike either of the previous suggestions for restructuring professional control mechanisms.

Although the NEA, Conant, Koerner and the Study Commission configurations for restructuring the governance of teacher education are all of extreme interest and importance to the educational community, that pattern which has begun to come into existence and therefore lends itself to investigation is the establishment of teacher standards and practices boards. There is very little

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[2]National Education Association, Division of Instruction and Professional Development, "Special Feature on Governance of the Profession," Today's Education (December 1971):20,22.

[3]James D. Koerner, Who Controls American Education? (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 31.

[4]Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers, Teacher Education in the United States (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), p. 101.

[5]Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers, Teacher Education in the United States, p. 119.

[6]Alvin P. Lierheimer, "Changing the Palace Guard," Phi Delta Kappan 52 (1970):20.

information about the nature of these boards except for minimal descriptive data about board composition, responsibilities, staffing, and financing. Although aspects of the report of The Ohio State University Educational Governance Project (EGP)[7] speak to standards and practices board activity in several of the states studied, there exists no intensive determination of 1) how these boards have come into existence or 2) what effect they are having on professional education policy determination.

In the EGP, Campbell and Mazzoni state:

> Whether delegating to educators authority to govern their profession can be made compatible with effective public control of the schools, as advocates claim but opponents deny, is the fundamental question, one that can be answered only by examining operating examples of the different options. At the time of this writing, only a few states have established commissions and they have done so just recently. Therefore, we have no evidence on certification policy making as undertaken by an independent commission compared with the process undertaken by a state education agency.[8]

Currently there exist two "operating examples of the different options" to traditional state board/education agency control. These options include the establishment in the state statutes of a teacher standards and practices board, with either full authority or advisory responsibility. The three operating forms of control of teacher education in the states are defined as follows:

1) Full authority teacher standards and practices boards: In this instance a fully independent commission can be created by statute to exercise legal jurisdiction over the preparation and licensure of teachers (with ultimate authority resting with the state legislature to modify or repeal the law establishing the commission).

2) Teacher standards and Practices boards which are advisory to the state board of education and its education agency: In this instance the responsibility for certain policy making and/or administrative functions can be formally vested in a special commission or board on which educators are heavily represented, but with the power of final approval being retained by the state board of education.

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[7]The Educational Governance Project was conducted by Roald F. Campbell and Tim L. Mazzoni at The Ohio State University. This study analyzed how states determine educational policies using comparative case studies of twelve states nationally. It also proposed alternative models of state educational governance for consideration by policy makers. Several issues were investigated in each state, one of which was in the area of teacher certification.

[8]Campbell and Mazzoni, p. 140.

3) State board of education/state educational agency control: In this instance teacher education can continue to be delegated to the state education agency, assisted by an advisory council representing different segments of the profession and the teacher training institutions.

Statement of the Problem

State control of education includes the control of teacher education. Traditionally states have delegated control of teacher education to state lay boards of education and their education agencies. Constituents of the education profession are challenging state board/state agency control of teacher education by encouraging state legislatures to create autonomous teacher standards and practices boards, composed primarily of teachers, with the responsibility for teacher education certification and accreditation. Consequently there exist currently three operating forms of state control of teacher education, as follows:

1) Full authority teacher standards and practices board control.

2) State board of education and state education agency control, with a statutory advisory teacher standards and practices board.

3) State board of education and state education agency control.[9]

The problem considered in the study was: In order to have control and understanding of what is happening to us in teacher education, we need to determine what variables, actors and conditions may be resulting in each of the three forms of teacher education control described above.

This study described, analyzed and compared the activities which have occurred in three state legislatures which have considered the adoption of teacher standards and practices boards. The investigation included the study of one state legislature which passed a full authority teacher standards and practices board bill (Oregon), one state legislature which passed an advisory board bill (Pennsylvania), and one state legislature which considered teacher standards and practices board legislation, but did not act on the legislation (Ohio). Further, this study described and analyzed how the two boards which were enacted were implemented and contrasts their implementation to the organizational aspects of the state board of education and its education agency in the state whose legislature did not enact a teacher standards and practices board bill.

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[9]These three operating forms of control of teacher education are described on page 3 of this study.

Related Research

In the early sixties three landmark studies were conducted relative to the politics of education. In the first of these, Bailey, et al., investigated eight northeastern states to analyze school politics at the state level.[10] The basic proposition of this study was that the amount of money state governments make available for general aid to public schools is determined politically. The findings confirmed the highly political nature of government support for education.

A second study conducted by Usdan, investigated the political power of education in New York State to find answers to these questions: Who articulates the educational demands? To what extent are the educational interests unified and cohesive? What strategy and tactics are employed to influence decisions?[11] Usdan found the New York legislature efficiently organized, well-staffed and well-paid, and the educational organizations in the state well-directed and mobilized. In fact, the high degree of cooperation among professional organizations was an instrumental factor in their legislative success.

In the third study, Masters, et al., visited three midwestern states to determine sources of power and the realities of the political process of education in those states.[12] Masters found that the context for educational policy was either clearly identified with established influence systems or it is fragmented and fraught with a high degree of uncertainty.[13] In fact, Iannaccone synthesized the findings of these three studies by looking at the patterns of political activity and developed his well-known four-part typology of state political systems as follows: locally-based disparate; state-wide monolithic; state-wide fragmented; and state-wide syndical.[14]

Several other studies suggest other aspects of the political process of education. One is the Wirt and Kirst study of the politics of local school systems.[15] Another is the study of education policy-making and the state legislature, conducted by Milstein

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[10]Stephen K. Bailey, et al., Schoolmen and Politics (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962), p. x.

[11]Michael D. Usdan, The Political Power of Education in New York State (New York: Institute of Administrative Research, Columbia University, 1963), p. 2.

[12]Nicholas A. Masters, et al., State Politics and the Public Schools (New York: Knopf, 1964), p. 9.

[13]Ibid., pp. 262-263.

[14]Laurence Iannaccone, Politics in Education (New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, 1967).

[15]Frederick M. Wirt and Michael W. Kirst, Political and Social Foundations of Education (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1975).

and Jennings.[16] And a third relevant study is the Educational Governance Project (EGP), conducted by Campbell and Mazzoni, where state educational governance structures were investigated.[17]

All of the above studies assisted in the identification of actors in the legislative process who should be considered in this study: executive officials, legislators, members of SBEs and SDEs, members of professional associations, and members of other interest groups. The EGP results helped focus on issues and actors relevant to certification which were duplicated in the study reported here.

These findings also suggest certain characteristics that appear to impact on policy-making: that is, that certain interest groups use various resources to influence educational decisions. There is reason to believe that these same groups and variables would also be operating when teacher education decisions are made. The purpose of this study is to determine which of these groups and variables are the same and which ones are different in relation to three different forms of teacher education governance. The following research questions have guided this investigation:

1. What was the historical context for teacher education control in each of the states studied which led to the introduction of a teacher standards and practices board bill in each state legislature? What was the nature of the legislation?

2. Who were the major actors and interest groups who were involved in the legislative activity related to the introduction and disposition of a teacher standards and practices board bill?

3. What were the positions taken by the actors and interest groups who were identified?

4. Which influence resources were used by the actors and interest groups identified and how were the resources used (i.e., to what effect)?

5. What characteristics of the legislative setting impacted on the teacher standards and practices board legislation (e.g., the legislative docket, party politics, composition of the education committee)?

6. How did all of the actors and interest groups interact in the legislature to impact in the final disposition of the teacher standards and practices board legislation? Which were the most significant factors which influenced the disposition of the legislation?

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[16]Mike M. Milstein and Robert E. Jennings, Educational Policy-Making and the State Legislature: The New York Experience (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973).

[17]Campbell and Mazzoni.

7. What is the nature of the policies produced in composition, authority, terms, appointments, agenda, finances, and exemplary policies?

8. What is the structure of teacher education governance in the state where a nondecision occurred?

9. How did the implementation variables considered in this study impact on the implementation of enacted teacher standards and practices board legislation?

10. In what way are the implementation variables studied related to the activity in the state where a non-decision occurred?

11. Did persons or conditions active in the policy production phase effect implementation?

Conceptual Framework and Research Methodology

The conceptual framework used in this investigation was drawn from the related concepts, assumptions and questions that have been used in studies of political science and the politics of education.[18] As scholars of political science suggest, there is little existing theory, in the traditional sense of the term, to allow for explanation and prediction of political phenomena. Instead, political scientists have sought ways to analyze and categorize these phenomena through the use of what Wirt and Kirst call "heuristic theory."[19] This study was based on the heuristic scheme of Easton's framework

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[18] These studies include those cited earlier by Wirt and Kirst, Milstein and Jennings, and the Educational Governance Project. In addition, the use of conceptual models by Graham Allison in Essence of Decision (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971) provided background information.

[19] Theory in its traditional sense is directed toward explanation and prediction by means of "a set of...related propositions which include among them some law-like generalizations, and which can be assigned specific truth value via empirical tests." In the absence of theory, Gregor suggests heuristic theory which is "not so much a predictive scheme as a method of analytically separating and categorizing items in experience." [See A. James Gregor, "Political Science and the Uses of Functional Analysis," American Political Science Review, 62 (1968), p. 425; and Wirt and Kirst, Political and Social Foundations of Education, pp. 12-13.] As Gregor and Wirt and Kirst suggest, this study employed a framework for political analysis which does not, in the true sense of the term, also represent theory. The framework merely resembles theory in that it provides a way of organizing data or events.

for political analysis and on allocative theory.[20]

Simply stated, the political systems approach presents an interactive model in which demands are converted through the policy-making process into authoritative decisions.[21] For purposes of this study, the political systems approach was adapted to a political science model of the policy delivery system. This approach is a way of viewing policy making as "an interactive process through which inputs, including demands for change, are converted into outputs, including authoritative decisions."[22]

Campbell and Mazzoni suggest that the political systems orientation, though necessary, is not sufficient to examine how education policy is made.[23] Lasswell defines politics as "the study of influence and the influential."[24] This definition supports the use of allocative theory in studying influence as "the dynamic" in the pattern of actor relationships in policy making.[25] Several concepts are relevant to this view of the policy making process:

> power - the process of affecting policies of others with the help of [...threatened] severe deprivations for nonconformity with the policies intended.[26]
>
> influence - when one person, without resorting to either a tacit or an overt threat of severe deprivation, causes the second to change his course of

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[20]The systems framework is from David Easton's A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965). The application of allocative theory is from the EGP use of it as described by Mazzoni. The use of allocative theory adds to the political systems analysis the use of influence as "the dynamic in the pattern of actor relationships by which functions are performed, conflicts overcome, and decisions are reached. [See Roald F. Campbell and Tim L. Mazzoni, State Policy Making for the Public Schools (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1976), p. 8 and also Lasswell's Politics: Who Gets What, When, How?]

[21]Tim L. Mazzoni, "The Educational Governance Project: Conceptual Framework and Research Methodology." Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, 17 April 1974, p. 4.

[22]Campbell and Mazzoni, State Policy Making for the Public Schools, p. 5.

[23]Ibid., p. 8.

[24]Lasswell, p. 3.

[25]Campbell and Mazzoni, State Policy Making for the Public Schools: A Comparative Analysis, p. 7.

[26]Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, Power and Poverty (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 21.

action.[27]

Nuttall, et al., emphasizes the use of power or influence (often used interchangeably in the literature) as achieving results in the political system "based on access to some form of resource" defined below:

> resource - anything which allows one actor to control, provide, or apply a sanction [of reward or harm] to another actor.[28]

Using a combination of the above definitions, this study used allocative theory to consider the influence resources of various actors in the political system.

It is now appropriate to consider the adaptation of political systems analysis and allocative theory to this study. For purposes of this study, this framework was adjusted from the total societal level to the state level. Therefore, the unit of analysis of this study was the legislative branch of state government. The basic argument developed in this study was that a new output -- a teacher standards and practices board -- was the result of a mixture of past and immediate changes, both in the environment and within the political system, which came together in a unique grouping capable of generating and subsequently getting implemented a new public policy.

This study analyzed two aspects of the state policy system: policy production and policy implementation. It compared the policy decisions which occurred in two states (Oregon and Pennsylvania) to the nondecision which occurred in one state (Ohio).[29] In the policy production phase of this investigation the following variables were considered: the nature of the demands from the environment and political system which caused the policy (teacher standards and practices boards) to be passed or defeated; the nature of the conversion process; and the policy output. The environments which surround this subsystem include the general environment which included accessible data on the characteristic features of a state's political culture; and the immediate environment, which included various individuals and groups with interest in state teacher

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[27]Ibid., p. 30.

[28]Ronald L. Nuttall, et al., "On the Structure of Influence," in Terry Clark, ed., Community Structure and Decision-Making: A Comparative Analysis (San Francisco: Chandler, 1968), pp. 352-353.

[29]Bachrach and Baratz (Power and Poverty, pp. 3-16, 54) define an approach to the study of the political process which considers decisions and nondecisions. In both instances power is exercised. In decisions, persons use their power to make decisions that affect others. In nondecisions, persons use their power to prevent potentially dangerous issues from being raised. In nondecisional situations a policy recommendation may never reach the legislative agenda, or it may be introduced in the legislature and subsequently abandoned. This study looked at the consequences of power at both the decision and nondecisional levels.

education policies, which might be expressed in the form of political demands. In this study, when these individuals interacted collectively they were referred to as an interest group. Further, the term "interest group" was used to refer to all groups external to the legislature who sought to influence decision making in the legislature. These actors included members of state boards of education and state departments of education, professors, teachers, administrators, parents and school board members.

The above interest groups were considered to be the sources for demands in the policy process. These actors were considered to have used influence resources to help give them access to the legislature and to help them interact within the legislative conversion process.

The typology used in this study is a combination and elaboration of the French and Raven and EGP typologies. Also, this typology uses the resource of power as defined by Bachrach and Baratz. The variables in this typology are:

1) expertise - information, research ability, data on need.

2) authority - legal or legitimate power in the formal government structure to effect decision making.

3) coercive power - effecting decisions by threat of deprivation to those affected by the decision.

4) membership - size of the paying membership and funds used from dues for legislative activity; also includes campaign funds.

5) voting power - number of votes a group can generate; also grass roots control over membership.

6) access - availability to the legislative system through particular politicians, political parties, or executive officers; presentation of testimony.

7) social status - respect the group can generate in the legislature; credibility among legislators.

8) coalition - a resource only when several groups can "deliver" other groups.

In addition to considering the environment from which demands and resources evolved to impact on policy formulation, the policy implementation phase was studied as well. In the policy implementation phase a set of intervening variables was considered which might effect the linkage between policy formulation and the performance of the policy. The implementation variables used in this study are defined as follows:

1) policy standards and objectives - the specification of the overall goals of a policy decision.

2) policy resources - funds or other incentives that encourage or facilitate effective implementation of a policy.

3) agenda-building - how agendas are established; who has access to the organization.

4) inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities - the clarity of the policy's objectives, how accurately they are communicated and how they are achieved.

5) characteristics of the implementing agencies - the factors that impinge on an organization's capacity to implement policy (e.g., size, vitality, openness, etc.).

6) economic, social and political conditions - what and how certain environmental conditions impact on policy implementation (e.g., public opinion, the policy's effect on economic conditions, etc.).

7) the disposition of the implementors - how the implementors' understanding and acceptance of the policy effects their role in implementing the policy.[30]

Figure 1 is presented to show graphically how the adapted political systems framework used in this study delineates the dependent and independent variables of this study. The dependent variables were the three different governance structures existing in the states investigated in this study. They are depicted in Figure 1 under Policy. The independent variables of this study were the general and immediate environments from which demands evolved and the influence resources shown under Demands and Resources. Additional influence resources were studied, as shown under Conversion Process. The independent variables are listed under Implementation, but for Performance were not considered in this study. Further, Figure 1 shows how the research questions used to guide this study are related to the political systems framework of this investigation.

The design for this study was the causal-comparative method as described by Van Dalen (1973), and the comparative case study approach as applied to studies in the politics of education. Use of this design allowed for the comparison of likenesses and differences among the variables to find out what factors or circumstances (environments, demands, resources, conversion processes) seemed to contribute to the passage or defeat and subsequent implementation of teacher standards and practices board legislation in three states.

This study focused on a set of research questions rather than on hypotheses, which made this an exploratory study. Exploratory studies have three purposes: to discover significant variables in the field situation, to discover relations among variables, and to lay the groundwork for later systematic testing of hypotheses. Studies of this type which are conducted in the life situation of schools, organizations or institutions have the advantage of strong

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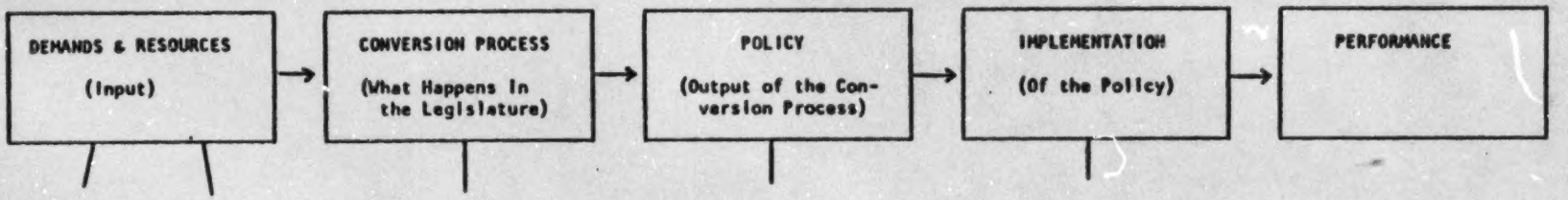
[30]This typology was adapted from Donald L. Van Meter and Carl E. Van Horn, "The Policy Implementation Process: A Conceptual Framework."

FIGURE 1

THE POLICY DELIVERY SYSTEM

(Subsystem: The State Government Level)



Demands from:

- -teachers
- -SBE/SDE
- -administrators
- -parents
- -board members
- -teacher educators
- -other interested citizens

Resources:

- -expertise
- -authority
- -coercive power
- -membership
- -voting power
- -access
- -social status

1. What was the historical context which led to bill introduction?
2. Who were the major actors and interest groups?
3. What were their positions?
4. Which influence resources did they use?

Interaction of Demands and Resources:

- -coalitions

Within-put from Legislators:

- -education committee members
- -other legislators
- -party politics

1. What were the characteristics of the legislative setting?
2. How did the actors and interest groups interact with the legislature to effect the outcome of the bill?

Policy:

Type A: Full Authority Board

Type B: Advisory Board

Type C: Nondecision (Traditional structure)

1. What was the nature of the policy produced?
2. What is the structure of teacher education control where a nondecision occured?

Variables:

- -policy stnadards and objectives
- -policy resources
- -agenda building
- -inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities
- -characteristics of the implementing agency
- -economic, social and political conditions
- -the disposition of the implementors

1. How did the implementation variables impact on the policy?
2. Were the same variables a factor in the nondecision state?
3. Did actors in policy production effect implementation?

realism, significance, strength of variables, theory orientation and heuristic quality.

The unit of analysis for this study involved a purposive sample of the 50 states (i.e., picking cases, or states, that are judged to be typical of the population in which one is interested). Three states were then selected for the study.

Within each of the three states selected actors and interest groups were identified based on their inclusion in the literature of teacher education and related research. Further, any actors and groups identified through selected informants in each state were included. Generally these actors were members of groups in each state who were on record as having interacted in the legislative activity related to the enactment of a teacher standards and practices board bill. The list of significant actors and interest groups included representatives of SDEs/SBEs, professors, teachers, administrators, parents and school board members.

The data base for this research was from three primary sources: 1) an analysis of fugitive documentation of the phenomenon under study including drafts of bills, records of testimony, in-state publications, etc.; 2) intensive interviews with significant actors; and 3) completed questionnaires solicited from each actor who was interviewed.

Results

Oregon. The current governance structure for teacher education in Oregon resembles one of the three operating forms of control considered in this study; that is, a full authority teacher standards and practices board. The board is officially called the Oregon Teacher Standards and Practices Commission (and is referred to in this study as the TSPC). Although the commission has been in existence since 1966, it was given autonomous powers by the Oregon General Assembly through the passage of H.B. 2127, in July, 1973. This commission coexists with other components of the state's education system; namely, the State Board of Education and the State Board of Higher Education.

The commission, consisting of 17 members, is broadly representative of the education profession, and includes three members from the general public. This composition includes four elementary teachers, four secondary teachers, four school administrators, two teacher preparation institution members, one school board member, and the two lay members. All appointments to the commission are made by the State Board of Education from lists of nominations. Commission members are appointed for three-year terms and may serve for two terms. Operating funds for the commission come from fees paid by Oregon educators for their certificates. Commission members serve without compensation, but are reimbursed for expenses when attending meetings or otherwise engaged in commission business.

According to Oregon Law, the commission has the authority to establish the standards for the approval of teacher education institutions and teacher education programs. In addition the commission makes rules necessary for the issuance, denial, continuation, renewal,

lapse or reinstatement of certificates. It is responsible for representing the public interest in the development of educational policies, including the competence of teachers, the improvement of teaching and such problems as the adequacy of teacher supply and contested cases of certificate suspension. As these functions are assigned to the TSPC, the Oregon State Board of Education has only recommending responsibility concerning teacher education programs, institutions and certification. Actions of the commission cannot be appealed to the SBE, but are instead intended to be settled through the state's judicial system.

In 1965, the Oregon General Assembly created a Teacher Standards and Practices Commission composed of fourteen teachers and administrators, and two teacher educators, to advise the SBE in matters of teacher education and certification. The contributing factors in the success of this legislation were considered to be the extensive involvement of the OEA; the broad-based representation of the OEA at that time, which included teachers, professors and administrators; and the support of the SDE/SBE in creating the commission.

Efforts to make the commission autonomous were more complex than the events of the 1965 session. To compensate for expected opposition, the bill which proposed autonomy for the commission also expanded the membership of the TSPC to include three lay representatives, with the remainder of the commission left much the same. Opponents of the commission feared that autonomy would make the commission too powerful, leaving the commission vulnerable to abuse by its majority membership -- the classroom teachers. Also by 1973, the membership of the OEA no longer included professors and administrators. Although the OEA and the members of the advisory TSPC favored full autonomy, opponents included teacher trainers, administrators and school board members. The pivotal issue was whether or not the superintendent and the SDE supported autonomy. Public testimony from an SDE representative disclosed some Department and State Board opposition to transferring SBE powers to the TSPC. However, in order to assure the enactment of certain other bills which were pending in the '73 legislature, the state superintendent agreed not to publicly oppose the autonomy bill. Therefore, the opponent coalition lost the needed support of the SDE, and the bill passed in the summer of 1973.

All respondents were asked to summarize what they presumed to be the most significant factors in the disposition of H.B. 2127. One factor was mentioned repeatedly by respondents: the educational orientation of the 1973 General Assembly provided for by a heavy representation of teachers and other educators as legislators. Added to this general profile was the pivotal role played by the chairperson of the House Education committee, who was also a teacher.

Representative Perry's role is directly related to a second commonly mentioned factor in the success of H.B. 2127: that eventually the proponents of the bill had the support, even if somewhat covertly, of the state superintendent. Parnell's apparent support therefore broke whatever coalition the School Boards Association might have been able to build in opposition to the bill. A third significant factor in the bill's success was that the OSBA did not receive any help from the PTA or the general lay public in defending the lay control issue. Consequently, except for the addition of three lay members to the autonomous commission, lay control was

really not an effective factor in stopping the legislation.

And finally, respondents suggested that the incremental change from an advisory to an autonomous commission did not generate the controversy that accompanied the legislation which originally created the commission, through the introduction of H.B. 1434 in the 1965 legislative session. Relatedly, the public was generally not well informed about the nature of the commission or what autonomy would mean to its operation. Since Oregon was in the vanguard of states which have attempted to create this type of commission, there were no examples of autonomous commissions in other states which could have provided either positive or negative implications for this kind of legislation.

The disposition of the profession and members of the SBE against autonomy has plagued the implementation process involved in transferring SBE control to the TSPC. However, in Oregon, this is seen as a minor problem and not as directly effecting the future success of the TSPC.

According to the reports of respondents, the most significant factors toward the successful implementation of an autonomous commission relate to the disposition of the implementors and public opinion about the commission. Although respondents felt that the commission has a great deal of latitude in defining its goals and objectives, they were far more concerned about its definition of autonomy. There appear to be only minimal constraints in terms of resources, staff support and the transition between SDE operation of certification and TSPC operations.

There was evidence of suspicion of teachers using the commission for vested interest purposes, although no specific instances of this were cited. Teachers, on the other hand, felt that decisions involving administrative problems were now being made more openly and fairly. Teachers are concerned about the nominating process, and other constituent groups are continuing to seek greater representation. But clearly the greatest concern is whether or not the commission, the profession and the public can define and abide by the notion of an autonomous teacher standards and practices commission.

The role of the TSPC in relation to the SBE and the nature of the commission's autonomy continue to be contested. Consequently, it is highly likely that as the OEA presses for Governor appointment of its nominees to the TSPC, memoers of the SBE on an ad hoc basis will work toward returning the authority of the TSPC to the State Board. Both of these demands should crystalize in the 1977 session of the Oregon General Assembly.

Pennsylvania. The current governance structure for teacher education in Pennsylvania resembles one of the three operating forms of control considered in this study; that is, a teacher standards and practices board which, according to Pennsylvania statutes, is advisory to the Pennsylvania State Board of Education. The board is officially called the Pennsylvania Professional Standards and Practices Commission (and is referred to in this study as the PSPC). The commission was established by the Pennsylvania General Assembly and signed into law as Act 141 by Governor Milton Shapp on December 12, 1973. This commission advises the state's Board of Education, which is a 16 member board serving both basic and higher education.

The commission, consisting of 16 members, is broadly representative of the education profession, and includes representation from the general public. This composition includes eight public school classroom teachers, including one educational specialist; three public school administrators; two faculty members from teacher education institutions; one administrator from a teacher education institution; one teacher education student; and one parent of a child attending a public school. All appointments to the commission are made by the Governor from lists of nominations from state-wide organizations of professional educators. Commission members are appointed for three-year terms and may serve for two terms. Operating funds for the commission come from monies appropriated by the legislature. Commission members serve without compensation, but are reimbursed for expenses when attending meetings or otherwise engaged in commission business.

According to Pennsylvania law, the commission has the authority to recommend to the State Board of Education: standards for certification of teachers, accreditation of teacher education programs and professional practice for teachers in public schools; procedures which assure that actions concerning suspension, annulment, or revocation of teaching certificates comply with due process; processes for the evaluation of teacher education and certification program services and activities to determine the effectiveness in terms of annual and long range program plans; and recommendations for changes in certification and teacher education as a result of these evaluations.

Although activity to create a teacher standards and practices commission in Pennsylvania originated in 1966, the state did not create a commission until 1973. With the enactment of H.B. 903, a professional standards and practices commission was established to advise the SBE in matters of teacher education, certification, decertification, and professional practice.

The primary reason that an amended H.B. 903 passed the Pennsylvania General Assembly was because the Pennsylvania Secretary of Education was willing to lend his support to a bill creating the advisory commission. Although the PSEA had originally sought the creation of a fully autonomous board, it was forced to compromise in order to win the secretary's support, without which the bill would certainly have been defeated. As well, the PSEA had promised its membership a commission bill which also placed pressure on the association to compromise in order to carry a successful bill back to its membership. The strength of the Secretary's disposition, and the fact that once the PSEA and the Department had compromised, essentially meant that the bill would pass. Therefore, although there was lay opposition to the bill, there was an inadequate coalition of opponents to stop the bill.

All respondents were asked to summarize what they presumed to be the most significant factors in the disposition of H.B. 903. Respondents agree that the primary reason that the amended version of H.B. 903 passed was because the PSEA had promised a standards and practices board to its membership that year. Consequently, to get the bill through the legislature, the PSEA had to make more compromises than it usually might have been expected to make. These compromises were necessary because of a second very important factor to the disposition of the bill -- Secretary of Education John

Pittenger. Pittenger opposed an autonomous commission or even the granting of authority for decertification to an advisory commission. The PSEA was forced to concede on both of these counts.

After all of the compromises were struck and the amendments were added, and after the SDE had essentially been added to the list of proponents, those who had continued to oppose the bill (namely the PSBA and administrator groups) could not form a coalition strong enough to combat the proponents. Also, the PSBA had no assistance from any lay lobbying groups, and specifically the PTA. Although an active PFT had managed to delay the progress of the bill, their opposition was not effective enough to deny passage of the bill.

In the implementation of H.B. 903, the delaying factors in an optimally functioning commission have been the result of the attitudes of both Board members and Department staff toward the commission. Most of these persons continue to view the commission as unnecessary.

According to the responses of persons interviewed, the problems of getting the commission implemented seemed to have stemmed from the disposition of the implementors and the aggressive role which the Secretary of Education continues to play in teacher education policy. The dispositional problems seemed to relate to the various definitions of "advisory" and whether or not the commission has adequate access to the SBE. Also, at present, there seems to be some duplication of effort in what the commission deals with and what the SDE does. But this is probably, as one respondent suggested, a function of shifting out responsibilities and the division of labor.

There is as well some public sentiment that the commission is not necessary, that it is teacher controlled, and that it will probably want to be autonomous eventually. These attitudes have created some general suspicion that continues to haunt the implementation of the PSPC.

To date the commission continues to struggle for its place in the hierarchy of Pennsylvania governance of teacher education.

Ohio. The current governance structure for teacher education in Ohio is that form most comparable to traditional forms of state governance of the profession. There exists in Ohio an elected State Board of Education and its implementing agency, the State Department of Education. The SBE has been delegated by the legislature the authority to set and enforce standards for teacher and administrator certification and for the approval of teacher training programs in the state's higher education institutions. In addition, a Teacher Education and Certification Advisory Commission was created by the State Board of Education in December, 1974.

This commission was an outgrowth of the SDE's Teacher Education Redesign effort. It was created by the SBE to guarantee the continued input of education professionals who were involved in the Redesign project in the implementation of the new teacher education standards. It is composed of 15 members, appointed by the SBE pursuant to the recommendations of the Superintendent. The commission is representative of members from: 1) approved or chartered schools or school districts, including teachers, supervisors and administrators; 2) higher education, including college students,

professors of education, administrative heads of teacher education, and presidents; and 3) the lay public. As well, education related groups and organizations may submit names of nominees to the Superintendent for appointment to the commission. The term of appointment is for three years.

The purposes of the commission as stated in the resolution which created it are:

1. Study teacher education and certification standards and make recommendations pertaining thereto to the State Board of Education;

2. Formulate advisory interpretations of teacher education and certification standards for use in the development of teacher education programs by colleges and universities, and in the State Department of Education evaluation of colleges or universities preparing teachers;

3. Review State Department of Education evaluations of colleges or universities preparing teachers and make recommendations pertaining thereto;

4. Collect data concerning the current and projected need for certificated personnel in the various teaching fields and areas of specialization to be used in making informed recommendations concerning the adoption of comprehensive staff development policies by the State Board of Education; and

5. Analyze and report the financial requirements of teacher education as it pertains to colleges and universities and approved or chartered schools or school districts to the State Department of Education.

In Ohio, there have been two separate attempts to create either an advisory or an autonomous teacher standards and practices commission. Both instances were abortive; that is, in both cases the bills were not voted out of the House Education Committee when they were both first referred. In both 1973 and in 1975, the OEA was a primary proponent of the legislation. In 1973 the demand for such policy consideration was generated by a citizens committee; and in 1975, by the OEA. In both cases, the legislation was opposed by the SDE/SBE, the OSBA, BASA, OAESP, OASSP, PTA and the State University Education Deans. Also in both instances, the primary reason for opponent success was related to the activities of the State Department of Education. Beginning as early as 1968, the SDE initiated research in teacher education and sponsored a massive state-wide consensus on needed reforms in education. As a result of these activities, the SDE sponsored a project to redesign the standards for teacher training programs in 1973. In order to facilitate the implementation of these standards the SBE formed a Teacher Education and Certification Advisory Commission with broad representation from the profession.

All respondents were asked to summarize what they presumed to be the most significant factors in the disposition of H.B. 559. The most commonly suggested factors are: 1) that the OEA was preoccupied with legislative concerns that were more germane to the employment conditions of its members; and 2) that the SDE/SBE had succeeded in taking an offensive position which allowed them to present evidence of the progress they were making in the reform of teacher education in Ohio. A third frequently mentioned factor was that of lay control. As one respondent remarked, "The issue of lay control is almost a guise for teacher control. How something is governed is one thing. Who controls it is more important. The idea of losing lay control is not so profound as the OEA having it." Included in the lay control issue is the fact that for the last 20 years Ohio has had an elected lay Board of Education, and strong advocates from the OSBA and the PTA in maintaining that tradition. And finally, in keeping with the assumption that incremental changes are more palatable than drastic changes, some respondents suggested that had the OEA been willing to compromise and support the establishment of an advisory board, that could have been the first step in a long-term move to make the board autonomous.

Although the SDE contends that this advisory commission was a logical outgrowth of the Redesign effort, others believed it to be a very effective offensive tactic to obfuscate the need for the creation of any teacher standards and practices commission in Ohio, either advisory or autonomous. Along with other factors which effected the outcome of H.B. 559 the actions of the SBE/SDE in creating its own advisory commission was considered by all respondents to have impacted significantly on legislator disposition against the need for another type of teacher education commission. As such, Ohio's form of teacher education control continues to be represented by SBE/SDE authority with input from an advisory commission representing different segments of the profession and the teacher training institutions.

Discussion of the Findings and Research Implications

Findings. The primary purpose of the study was to identify independent variables in the policy-making process which appear to be related to the policy outcomes considered in this study. In order to analyze the policy-making process, this study posed four broad questions, which are responded to below.

Question 1: What is the nature of the policy which dictates the type of teacher education control in three different states?

The policies generated in both Pennsylvania and Oregon are similar in that they both called for the establishment of a teacher standards and practices board composed primarily of teachers. Similarly, both commissions include the representation of superintendents, principals, teacher educators, and lay persons. As well, both boards are granted some type of responsibility in the areas of teacher certification and teacher education program approval. The primary difference in the two commissions is in the nature of their authority. In Oregon, the commission has full authority for teacher education policy, where the Pennsylvania commission has only the responsibility to advise the Pennsylvania State Board of Education.

In Ohio, there was a legislative history of several proposals to form some kind of commission. Like Pennsylvania and Oregon, there was a bill proposing autonomy, one proposing an advisory commission, and one suggesting an intricate system of recommendations to the SBE that would have made the commission the controlling force in teacher education policy making. Unlike Pennsylvania or Oregon, a compromise was not struck on the autonomy issue in Ohio. Some respondents speculated that Ohio could have followed Oregon's pattern of incremental change, but proponents of the 1975 legislation rejected such a compromise. Consequently, the control of teacher education in Ohio is still very much vested under the State Board of Education, although the Board has established its own advisory commission.

Clearly the consensus view in all states was that teachers should not have exclusive control of teacher education policy. As well, most respondents in Pennsylvania thought that the governor should make appointments to the commission, which is the case currently in Pennsylvania. But, in Oregon and Ohio, respondents opted for SBE appointment. Even though governor appointment had been an issue in Oregon among federation and association teachers, it was not, apparently, a very widely accepted position among other interest groups.

Question 2: How and by whom was a demand generated to seek a change in policy related to teacher education control in three different states? (Demands and Resources)

In the most recent legislative activity in Oregon, Pennsylvania and Ohio to modify teacher education control policy, the major voice for change was the teachers association; that is, the state affiliate of the NEA. In only one instance, in Ohio in 1973, was a different group responsible for bringing a demand to the legislature which would call for a change in the teacher education control structure. That group, the Stranahan Commission, did propose an autonomous professional practices commission with majority teacher representation.

In all three states, as well, the teacher federation (state affiliate of the AFT) was in some way opposed to the commission legislation. Specifically, this opposition focused on the amount of representation guaranteed to federation members on any proposed commission. Also, in all three states, certain interest groups were consistently opponents to teacher standards and practices commission legislation whether the commission was to be autonomous or advisory. These groups included essentially everyone but teachers; that is, the state associations for superintendents, elementary and secondary principals, teacher educators (deans and directors), and local school board members.

The activities of two other major groups varied from state to state; that is, of the SBE/SDE and the PTA affiliate. The disposition of the chief state school officer in each of the three states was found to be very important to the outcome of teacher standards and practices legislation. The findings of related research presented no evidence that state PTA's were in any way particularly effective in the legislative arena.

Question 3: How did various actors and interest groups influence the interaction in three different state legislatures to seek a decision on the control of teacher education in those states? (Conversion Process)

The influence resources which appeared to be important to the legislative disposition of teacher standards and practices commission legislation in Oregon, Pennsylvania and Ohio seemed to be related to the use of expertise and/or authority by SDE's; the application of coercion in the legislative setting; the number of educator/legislators in the legislature in a given session; the formation of a management coalition; and the amount of time available to a lobbying group for legislative activity. These factors, as well as those mentioned in the preceding section of this chapter, are depicted in Table 1 of this chapter. A "+" recorded under a state means that the factor appears to have had a positive effect on the legislative outcome; a "-" means a negative effect; and a "0" means the factor was not considered to be important to the disposition of the legislation.

TABLE 1

SIGNIFICANT FACTORS IN POLICY FORMATION

Factor	Oregon	Pennsylvania	Ohio
1) Nature of change called for by the policy	+	-	0
2) Lay control as an issue	-	-	+
3) Teacher association support of the legislation	+	+	+
4) SDE and CSSO support of the legislation	+	+	-
5) Coercion by legislative leadership	+	0	0
6) Number of educator/legislators	+	0	0
7) The formation of a management coalition to include the SDE	-	-	+
8) Time spent on legislation	0	+	-

Respondents suggested that a critical variable was also whether or not the superintendent was elected or appointed. Only Ohio's superintendent was appointed, making him perhaps less vulnerable to constituent group pressures from teachers, administrators and lay persons. There was no specific confirmation for this assumption, although such a factor might be a useful variable to consider in future studies.

Question 4: What actors appeared to affect the implementation process in two of the three states considered in this study where a policy related to teacher education control was formulated? (Implementation)

Although there were particular nuances in the individual implementation of commission legislation in Pennsylvania and Oregon, both states seemed to have the same general problems in implementation. As respondents reported, in both states the attitudes of the implementing agencies and public opinion were two factors that had some delaying effect on the implementation of the policy had to do with adequate resources and access to agendas and meetings. In both states there was great latitude in defining purposes and objective, but this did not appear to deter implementation. However, in Pennsylvania defining the meaning of "advisory" had caused strained relations between the PSPC and the SBE. In both states there were no major problems in inter-organizational communications, although in Pennsylvania the PSPC would like more regular communications with the SBE.

In contrast, the implementation of a Teacher Education and Certification Advisory Commission in Ohio did not carry with it the kind of ambiguity implicit in the transfer of certain responsibilities from one agency to another. The commission was created by the SBE, at the superintendent's request, to function with the SBE. As the commission was implemented, there have been funds available, access to the SBE, positive dispositions toward the commission, and adequate staff to help the commission. The problem with the Ohio situation is that since the commission was not created by the legislature, there is no external audit of the influence of the commission on the board. Therefore, the crucial question is, will the commission's creators allow it to function as an advisory commission?

Implications. This research has explored those variables that appear to have been important in states where three different forms of teacher education control have evolved. Through interviews with representatives of interest groups involved in teacher education decision making in each state, promising variables have been generated. These variables will be restated below in the form of testable hypotheses. In relation to the policy formulation process, the promising variables have been identified in the chart on page 21. The relevant hypotheses are as follows:

a. If gradual change in teacher education governance occurs through the introduction of advisory commission legislation prior to a move to establish an autonomous commission, then the likelihood of creating an autonomous commission is greater.

b. If strong lay opposition is voiced to commission legislation, then the legislation will be defeated or at least be amended from an autonomous to an advisory commission.

c. If there is strong teacher association support and lobbying activity for commission legislation, the legislation is more likely to be passed than without teacher association support.

d. Chief state school officers are pivotal to the success of commission legislation; that is, if the superintendent supports the legislation it is more likely to pass than if the superintendent opposes the legislation.

e. If the chief state school officer opposes commission legislation and if a management coalition is formed against the legislation, the legislation is more likely to be defeated. Without the support of the superintendent, the management coalition may not be effective enough to cause commission legislation to be defeated.

f. If the lobbying groups which support or oppose commission legislation invest great amounts of time and effort in advocating their position, then these groups will very likely succeed in effecting either passage or defeat of commission legislation.

g. If the disposition of the implementing agency is against the establishment of a commission, then the commission is more likely to fail to be fully implemented than if the commission lacked adequate goals, financial support, or other types of support from the implementing agency.

The important next step in the research effort to understand teacher education governance policy is to formulate future research studies to test these hypotheses. As the configuration of hypotheses suggests, no one factor seems to be the crucial variable in any of the states studied. However, that too is an important question for research.

In formulating research studies to best test these hypotheses, the critical factor is not the identification of the unit of study; that is, any of the remaining 47 states, or all 50 states. Rather, the problem with policy research is in identifying the sources of data and the methods of data collection. When so many categories of actors are involved in policy formation and implementation, the problem is in establishing a random sample of these groups. For instance, one could survey legislators to test some of these hypotheses, but that would ignore the perspectives of other interest groups. Also, in sampling part of the total membership of a constituent group, one might really be testing the knowledge of the

rank and file of that group on the particular issues rather than the causes for policy formation and implementation. As in this study, the hierarchy of most interest groups appears to be the policy actors, and not the entire membership of that group. Therefore, it is recommended that future research employ a purposive sample of policy makers in testing the hypotheses generated in this study.

A second major future research direction which is related to the policy considerations in this study deals with the evaluation of how effectively policy is implemented and the degree of effect of the policy once it is set. This study was clearly limited to the formulation and implementation of policy. This decision was made because the policies in question have existed only two to three years. In five years time, it would also be appropriate to develop a research method to measure the effectiveness of commissions in Pennsylvania, Oregon, Ohio and other states.

A third direction for future research in regard to standards commission research would be the generation of an alternative conceptual framework to the political systems analysis. Other frameworks might include a more thorough exploration of organizational climate in the implementing agency, the nature of conflict resolution in the legislature, or the application of change theory in the transferral of control from one agency to another.

A fourth research thrust in considering standards commissions would be to consider the broader context of education policy making in a given state to ascertain whether formation of teacher standards and practices commission policy is alike or different from other education policy adopted in a specific state. This type of study could go beyond education policy, and consider policy adoption generally.

To reiterate, the primary purpose of this research was to generate promising variables in the formation and implementation of teacher education policy that could be tested in other states. Such research would assist in the identification of important factors in one aspect of teacher education policy and would make an initial contribution to the study of teacher education in the political context.